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TORY, TORY, TORY:

A COMPARISON OF POLICY STANDS OF CONSERVATIVE MEMBERS FROM ALBERTA AND ONTARIO

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Much has been written in Canadian political science on the subject of cleavage politics - cleavages between French and English, regional cleavages, class cleavages and so on. This literature has examined the issue from virtually all angles but often fails to address the question at its most purely political level, the level of the elected member. In a federal system, a wide range of factors influence the behavior and views of elected members at national and provincial levels and perhaps the predominance of cleavage politics has given the Canadian party system less unity and coherence on matters of policy and ideology than would otherwise be expected.

According to Edmund Burke, "party is a body of men for promoting by their joint endeavors the national interest upon some particular principle in which they are all agreed."[1] In the contemporary Canadian context, however, this says little more than that certain elected members vote together on certain issues and present a coordinated policy front to the public. The actual influence of "party" on the policy stance of individual members is difficult to determine. A member's views are a complex amalgam of such items as party policy, personal belief and constituents' opinion, and they cannot be said to be exclusively determined by party membership. Furthermore, the imperative of caucus solidarity prevents the public from getting a close look at possible levels of disagreement between caucus members: dissent may cut, for example, along urban-rural lines, regional lines, educational lines or ideological lines.

In addition, disunity may exist within a party at all levels of organization. The clash between right wing and "red" Tories in the Progressive

Conservative federal caucus is a well publicized example (which may or may not have a strong foundation in fact). This disagreement may extend all the way down to the individual constituency organization, thus putting layers of cleavages on top of one another. The end result may be that academics who make much of comparing easily analyzed cleavages in the political fabric of the whole of Canadian society with easily analyzed outputs at the same level (which party member is elected where) may be imposing too much order on a vastly more complex system. Preconceived notions may be reinforced and popular myths recirculated.

This study proposes to examine a more narrow range of issues than the above discussion raises. Specifically, it will examine the policy stands of individual elected members from one party, two provinces and two levels of government, in an attempt to draw some tentative conclusions on the final impact of cleavage politics on political decision making. A survey of Progressive Conservative elected members from Alberta and Ontario provincial legislatures, and their federal counterparts, will be analyzed in an attempt to shed some light on the way in which an underlying cleavage in Canadian political culture is reflected in individual elected members' policy stands. From this, some tentative conclusions on the workings of the party system in Canada can be drawn.

Some explanation of the structure of what follows is in order here. First, a semi-theoretical and historical discussion of the Progressive Conservative party in Alberta and Ontario will be presented, in an effort to determine some of the possible sources of disunity or unity in the views of elected members from the two provinces. This will be based on an extension of the seminal work of Gad Horowitz, entitled "Conservatism, Liberalism and Socialism in Canada: An Interpretation."[2] Second, some specific notions

of the differences between the policy views of elected members in Alberta and Ontario will be laid out in the form of hypotheses along with a brief discussion of how such notions may be rooted in actual regional differences in political culture. Finally, each of the hypotheses will be compared with the actual results of the survey of Alberta and Ontario elected members, in an attempt to determine the veracity of some of these widely held notions about Canadian politics. A description of the methodology and procedure of the survey will be left for the appendices.

There always exist limitations and caveats in studies of this sort, and it would be foolish not to acknowledge some of these at the outset. First, in an attempt to keep the original data to a manageable size, only two provinces were surveyed. A proper study would examine all Canadian Progressive Conservative elected members, to eliminate possibly spurious relationships. Second, since the data is the primary focus of the paper, the discussion of theoretical and historical factors is not extensive. Finally, since an attempt is being made to determine if too much order may have been presumed in other examinations of Canadian political culture, special care must be taken not to commit the same error, discovering relationships in numbers where none exist in reality.

Notwithstanding these caveats, the question of the impact of perceived differences in the attitudes of people in different regions of Canada on the views of elected policy makers is an important one. In a system where what may be true is less crucial than what is thought to be true, any shedding of light on the relationship between people and their elected members or between elected members of the same party in different regions is useful.

CONSERVATISM IN CANADA

The Progressive Conservative party is the dominant vehicle for the

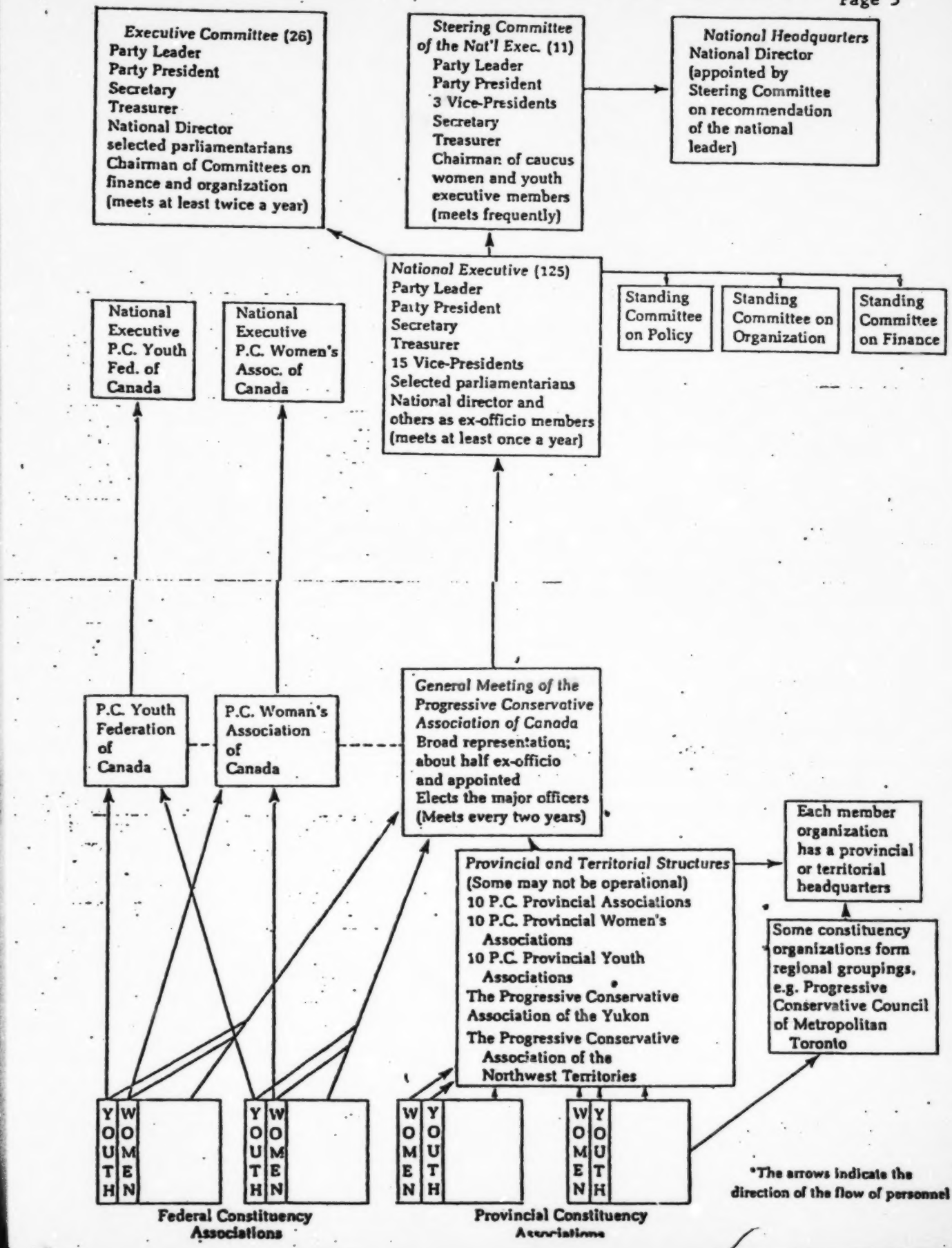
expression of what has loosely been called the "conservative" ideology in Canada. It has a strong organization at the national and provincial levels, and the two levels are closely linked by a set of structural ties as the chart on the following page indicates.[3]

Both the Liberal and New Democratic parties have linked national and provincial organizations, the Progressive Conservatives, however, are the only party with sufficient representation across the country to draw a proper sample comparing the views of federal and provincial members in the same province. They are also particularily well suited to an extension of the analysis of ideologies in Canada given by Horowitz, since conservatism is the focus of his work. NDP strength across the country is not great enough to take a representative sample and the only other possible sample that would fit this criteria would be the Liberal party in Quebec and Ontario. The effect of strong linguistic and cultural differences on such a sample would, however, threaten the validity of any conclusions that could be drawn from such a study.

Moreover, Alberta and Ontario make very good test cases because of a number of features of their current and past provincial political scenes. Both have strong provincial governments noted for their longevity. Both have clashed head on, and with the federal government, in recent years over a number of issues such as energy pricing and the constitution. Finally, both elect a large number of P.C. Members of Parliament.

On a slightly more academic level, the Progressive Conservative party is generally considered more "ideological" than the Liberal party, at least on the national level.[4] Although both parties are purely pragmatic when compared to the NDP, the fact that the Progressive Conservatives have been in power at the national level for only a handful of years in the past

Figure 10-2. Constitution of the Progressive Conservative Association of Canada*


Executive Committee (26)
Party Leader
Party President
Secretary
Treasurer
National Director
selected parliamentarians
Chairman of Committees on finance and organization
(meets at least twice a year)
Steering Committee of the Nat'l Exec. (11)
Party Leader
Party President
3 Vice-Presidents
Secretary
Treasurer
Chairman of caucus women and youth executive members
(meets frequently)
National Headquarters
National Director
(appointed by Steering Committee on recommendation of the national leader)
National Executive (125)
Party Leader
Party President
Secretary
Treasurer
15 Vice-Presidents
Selected parliamentarians
National director and others as ex-officio members
(meets at least once a year)
Standing Committee on Policy
Standing Committee on Organization
Standing Committee on Finance
National Executive P.C. Youth Fed. of Canada
National Executive P.C. Women's Assoc. of Canada
P.C. Youth Federation of Canada
P.C. Woman's Association of Canada
General Meeting of the Progressive Conservative Association of Canada
Broad representation; about half ex-officio and appointed
Elects the major officers
(Meets every two years)
Provincial and Territorial Structures
(Some may not be operational)
10 P.C. Provincial Associations
10 P.C. Provincial Women's Associations
10 P.C. Provincial Youth Associations
The Progressive Conservative Association of the Yukon
The Progressive Conservative Association of the Northwest Territories
Each member organization has a provincial or territorial headquarters
Some constituency organizations form regional groupings, e.g. Progressive Conservative Council of Metropolitan Toronto
YOUTH
WOMEN
Federal Constituency Associations
Provincial Constituency Associations
*The arrows indicate the direction of the flow of personnel

seventy has kept them relatively free of some of the compromises and blurring of ideology that accompany power. On the provincial level in Alberta and Ontario the opposite is, of course, true, suggesting that perhaps one may expect a little less ideological rigor and unity and a little more pragmatism in those Conservative caucuses.

The thread of strong small-c conservatism running through Canadian history is a tangled one.[5] According to Gad Horowitz in his aforementioned paper, this strain has its roots in the United Empire Loyalist "Tory" tradition, the organic conservatism of Edmund Burke and not the liberal conservatism of John Locke; the conservatism of Britain and not of the United States. This thread, which resulted from waves of British migration and the "tory" immigration of United Empire Loyalists into a relatively unformed political culture[6] is said to be reflected in "the major elements of nineteenth century Conservative policy...advocating Confederation, a protective tariff and the maintenance of the British connection."[7] In other words, "Canadian Conservatives lack the American aura of rugged individualism...R.B. Bennett, Arthur Meighen and George Drew cannot be understood simply as Canadian versions of William McKinley, Herbert Hoover and Robert Taft."[8]

According to Horowitz, this analysis of the different evolution of Canadian political culture explained why many American "liberal conservative" ideas have never caught on wholesale in Canada. It was also useful in understanding the behavior of various Canadian Conservative leaders - for example, why R.B. Bennett, a Conservative Prime Minister, would be the man who implemented many programs in what was called the "Canadian New Deal," clearly not a liberal conservative policy package.[9] Finally, it provided a handy approach for explaining many Canadian political phenomena

that are absent in the United States, such as a strong socialist third party, the minor party movements and the general "revulsion against American populist excesses."[10] For the purposes of this study, however, the important thesis of Horowitz's argument is that Canadian Conservatives have a different history, and hence different policy outlook, than their American counterparts.

But the Conservative party was subjected to the same forces that changed Canadian society throughout the twentieth century: the successive waves of immigration, especially to Western Canada, two world wars, increasing contact with and dependence upon the United States and increasing trends towards urbanization and secularization. These changes may have had a different impact upon different segments of the Conservative party across the country, an issue that Horowitz does not consider. As one critic has observed, "On the whole Horowitz treats the social and ideological composition of Canada as if it were relatively uniform. Clearly this is not the case."[11]

In the case of Western Canada specifically, there exists some scholarly material and a mass of popular opinion suggesting that the evolution of a mature political culture followed a different path than elsewhere in Canada. "The settlement in the West was much later and...gave ample opportunity for the development of an increasingly powerful liberal strain in the political thought of the area."[12] At the federal level, the West was a constant source of "rump" political movements of discontent, be they Social Credit, the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation or the Progressive Party. There is no reason to assume a priori that the election of federal members with the party labels of a national party is today a guarantee that the regional character of these earlier movements has disappeared totally. At the provincial level, Alberta had an unbroken string of "unconventional" governments

(using established parties as the norm) from 1921 until 1971, usually with little elected opposition. Ontario, on the other hand, may not have changed governments often, but it did always preserve a healthy parliamentary opposition, which was by and large restricted to the established parties. Federally, Ontario was and is the battleground of the Liberals and Progressive Conservatives, with little room for third parties or other movements.

Underlying these patterns of electoral development there must exist some broader sociological features. Following Horowitz's line of analysis to its logical extension, one could roughly hypothesize that the Western Canadian variant of Canadian conservatism, having developed and crystallized at a slightly later stage, would be more heavily influenced by American notions of "liberal" conservatism and rather less influenced by the British "tory" conservatism of the party of Sir John A. MacDonald. This would be the result of both in-migration from the U.S. and of the growing economic and cultural ties to the south.[13] It would also not be surprising if these differences were reflected in the policies of the Progressive Conservative party in Western Canada.

Certainly the popular rhetoric of many political figures from Ontario and Alberta would seem to bear this simple, but aesthetically appealing, hypothesis. The laissez-faire logic of John Locke's "liberal conservatism" is much in evidence in Alberta, and the image of the Alberta politician crying "free enterprise" on issues such as energy pricing or agriculture export policies is a commonly held one. Ontario politicians, on the other hand, are publicly presented (or perceived) as opposing world market pricing of energy, and being less strongly in support of traditional free enterprise policies such as low tariffs - free trade. Unfortunately, these impressions are often based on little more than media representations of the policy stands

of prominent party members (usually leaders) and are subject to misinterpretation on at least two grounds. First, specific policy pronouncements, especially on pressing issues of the day, may not correspond closely to the underlying beliefs held by the caucus. Party policy is, in the words of George Perlin, "ultimately...what the party leader declares it to be"[14] and this tendency often obscures the diversity of views of elected members. Second, once the media has created for itself an image of Alberta as more "free enterprise" or Ontario as more "protectionist" it often filters out information that does not reinforce that image. Thus the proverbial "person in the street" may possess an image of his/her elected officials that does not correspond at all to reality.

Reality, for the purposes of this paper, is the results of a survey that tests the level of agreement or disagreement of Progressive Conservative elected members with various policy statements (see appendix A for a copy of the survey). By examining the pattern of responses received from the four different P.C. groups tested (Alberta M.L.A.s, Alberta M.P.s, Ontario M.P.P.s and Ontario M.P.s) a preliminary confirmation can be made of the truth or falsity of some commonly held perceptions about cleavages within the Progressive Conservative party and their possible relationship to the underlying cleavages of Canadian society. In other words, the thesis that Western Canadian conservatism differs fundamentally from its Central Canadian counterpart can be tested.

Underlying this discussion is the assumption or hypothesis that the views of an elected member of a parliament or legislature in Canada are more influenced by social and historical differences between the regions she/he is elected from than by strict adherence to party doctrine or other structural factors. Unfortunately, a survey of elected members can highlight

or point out differences in the views of elected members, but it cannot shed light on the deeper question of whether or not the socio-political milieu elected members emerge from is actually different in different regions of Canada. It is beyond the scope of this study to conduct a thorough review of the literature and research on cleavage politics in Canada, so one will have to assume that there exists an underlying difference in the political cultures of Western Canada as represented by Alberta and Central Canada (Ontario). The difficult question is whether or not these regional differences in conditions of life have had political consequences.[15]

In the end, two basic questions are being addressed in this study:

1) Does there exist fundamental unity between elected members of the Progressive Conservative party in Canada, and can a political party act as a unifying force to override the cleavages and historical differences that exist between different regions and groups in Canada.

2) Are the differences in the views of elected members of the same party only a passive reflection of historical and social cleavages between different regions, or do other factors explain these differences.

These two questions should be kept in mind as one turns to an examination of the results generated by the survey.

DATA ANALYSIS

Briefly, the questionnaire that was mailed to all Progressive Conservative provincially and federally elected members from Alberta and Ontario was designed to test the strength of their agreement or disagreement with a variety of statements on public policy issues. A total of 202 questionnaires were mailed out in two mailings, and an overall response rate of 41 percent was observed. Details of the pattern of responses and possible sources of bias are discussed in appendix B.

The most useful statistics for this study are raw scores and percentage breakdowns. Two derivatives statistics, the mean and standard deviation,

were also used. All questions were of the "strongly agree to strongly disagree" variety, and responses were assigned a numerical value from one to five. The data was analyzed as a whole and in four subgroups: Alberta M.L.A.s (ABML), Ontario M.P.P.s (ONML), Ontario M.P.s (ONMP) and Alberta M.P.s (ABMP). Table I on the following page provides a quick summary of the mean and standard deviation (distribution around the mean) for all issue questions. The abbreviated titles of the questions appear in the same order as the survey questions in appendix A for easy comparison.

A few comments on levels of significance are in order here, because a quick glance at Table I cannot lead to any meaningful conclusions without them. With a rating scale of 1 to 5 an average response of 3 denotes a neutral position. Of course, this neutral score can be reached in two very different ways: responses can be grouped closely around the neutral response or they may be divided evenly between the two poles. The size of the standard deviation, which for data like this has no statistical significance, is thus useful for comparing the tightness of fit of responses to different questions. It is a comparitive, not a statistical, tool and in this study a standard deviation of 1.1 or lower can, for preliminary analysis, be considered a relatively tight grouping of responses. The same applies to the measures of the mean, which are again useful for comparing the responses between different groups. All the tables that follow, however, will use the percentage scores on the questionnaire to aid in interpretation.

For ease of understanding, the statistics have been analyzed and discussed under a set of hypotheses that will together shed light on the two basic questions set out previously.

Hypothesis 1: On more purely "economic issues, Alberta members, federal and provincial, will be more strongly in support of traditional "free

TABLE I

Summary of Results

	ALL		ABML		ONML		ONMP		ABMP	
	MEAN	STD DEV	MEAN	STD DEV	MEAN	STD DEV	MEAN	STD DEV	MEAN	STD DEV
ENERGY	2.2	1.3	1.4	.8	3.0	1.4	2.2	1.1	1.2	0.4
FIRA	4.2	1.0	4.5	1.0	4.1	1.1	4.1	.9	4.2	0.4
CAPPUN	2.1	1.4	2.0	1.3	2.2	1.4	2.4	1.7	1.6	0.5
CRUISE	1.7	1.0	1.8	1.3	1.4	.6	2.0	1.2	1.3	0.5
PETROCAN	4.2	.9	4.5	.8	3.9	1.1	4.3	.8	5.0	0.0
MINWAGE	3.4	1.3	3.6	1.2	3.5	1.3	2.9	1.5	2.6	.9
MEDICARE	2.0	1.0	1.8	.9	2.0	.9	2.2	1.2	2.2	.4
TARIFFS	2.9	1.3	2.2	1.1	3.2	1.3	3.7	1.0	2.0	.7
WOMEN	2.6	1.3	2.3	1.3	2.8	1.4	2.5	1.3	2.8	1.3
FARMCRED	3.1	1.3	3.4	1.2	3.2	1.3	2.8	1.4	3.0	1.4
CANAGREX	3.9	1.2	4.3	1.1	3.4	1.2	4.2	1.0	5.0	0.0
UIC	2.3	1.1	2.2	.9	2.3	1.2	2.4	1.3	2.2	.8
CORPTAX	3.5	1.2	3.7	1.3	3.6	1.2	3.1	1.0	3.0	1.4
METRIC	4.2	1.1	3.9	1.4	4.0	1.1	4.9	.2	4.8	.4
ABORTION	2.6	1.2	2.9	1.2	2.3	1.2	2.6	1.1	3.2	1.3
WAGECONT	3.7	1.4	4.2	1.0	2.9	1.5	4.6	.6	4.2	1.3
BUDGET	3.4	1.3	3.7	1.3	3.5	1.2	2.9	1.5	3.0	1.4

enterprise" measures.

Following from the discussion of the different conservative influences in Alberta and Ontario, it would be expected that the tradition of John Locke and the laissez-faire capitalists would have a greater impact on Alberta's P.C.s than on Ontario P.C.s, with their tradition of the National Policy and British-style "state conservatism." If there is any significant underlying historical difference between Western and Eastern Canadian conservatism one would expect it to show up on economic matters.

The data on the economic questions gives some support to this hypothesis. Five questions can be considered "economic": strengthening the Foreign Investment Review Agency (FIRA), eliminating minimum wage legislation, lowering tariff rates, eliminating corporate taxation and implementing wage and price controls. The data shows that Alberta members are slightly more strongly opposed to expanding or maintaining FIRA, with 92 percent of respondents either disagreeing somewhat or strongly disagreeing with strengthening FIRA. Both Ontario M.P.P.s and M.P.s scored lower, with 76 percent and 88 percent respectively falling in the same category. Alberta M.P.s returned too small a percentage (25 percent, five responses) to interpret with any certainty, but 100 percent of those who responded fell in the somewhat or strongly disagree category. Percentage results are summarized in Table II on the following page.

This same pattern of responses emerges even more strongly on the question of removing tariff barriers and stimulating free trade. Table III on the next page shows an extremely large gap between the views of Ontario and Alberta members on this issue, and it raises the suspicion that the differences between members views on FIRA and tariffs may be more influenced by perceived regional self interests, rather than by any great

TABLE II

Question: - Should FIRA be strengthened?

	ABML	ONML	ONMP	ABMP
Strongly Agree	4.2	0.0	0.0	2.0
Agree Somewhat	4.2	17.6	11.8	0.0
Neutral	0.0	5.9	0.0	0.0
Disagree Somewhat	25.0	29.4	58.8	80.0
Strongly Disagree	66.6	47.1	29.4	20.0
	100	100	100	100

(percentage of total responses)

TABLE III

Question: - Should tariffs be lowered and removed?

	ABML	ONML	ONMP	ABMP
Strongly Agree	26.9	5.9	0.0	20.0
Agree Somewhat	50.0	38.2	17.6	60.0
Neutral	3.8	5.9	11.8	20.0
Disagree Somewhat	15.4	32.4	52.9	0.0
Strongly Disagree	3.8	17.6	17.6	0.0
	100	100	100	100

(percentage of total responses)

TABLE IV

Question: - Removing minimum wage legislation.

	ABML	ONML	ONMP	ABMP
Strongly Agree	3.8	8.8	23.5	0.0
Agree Somewhat	15.4	17.6	23.5	60.0
Neutral	30.8	14.7	5.9	20.0
Disagree Somewhat	15.4	29.4	29.4	20.0
Strongly Disagree	34.8	29.4	17.6	0.0
	100	100	100	100

(percentage of total responses)

differences in the conservative ideology they held. Two of the remaining three economic questions tend to bear this suspicion out. On both the questions of removing provincial minimum wage legislation and abolishing corporate income tax, the strongest support for these measures came from federal members, making the cleavages cut along federal-provincial, not regional, lines. This suggests that a third factor - structural influences - has the greatest impact on differences of opinion between members for certain issues.[16] Table IV on the previous page and Table V below summarize this data for the two questions.

TABLE V

Question: - Abolishing corporate income tax.

	ABML	ONML	ONMP	ABMP
Strongly Agree	8.7	0.0	0.0	20.0
Agree Somewhat	8.7	29.4	41.2	20.0
Neutral	21.7	8.8	17.6	0.0
Disagree Somewhat	21.7	32.4	35.3	60.0
Strongly Disagree	39.1	29.4	5.9	0.0
	100	100	100	100

(percentage of total responses)

For the final economic question, implementing wage and price controls, one would expect a perfectly consistent free enterpriser to reject controls in favor of the free market, with Albertans thus being more strongly against them than Ontarians. Also, given that the party was burned on this issue in one recent federal election, one would expect a strong federal slant against controls. That is, in fact, the observed result. Only Ontario

M.P.P.s were very slightly in favor of controls, a result that fits with one's expectations. In fact, many Alberta and federal members made comments suggesting that the assumption of the question, that wage and price controls would curb inflation and speed economic recovery, was wrong. Again, Table VI below summarizes the results.

TABLE VI

Question: - Support wage and price controls.

	ABML	ONML	ONMP	ABMP
Strongly Agree	0.0	17.6	0.0	0.0
Agree Somewhat	9.5	35.3	0.0	20.0
Neutral	9.5	8.8	5.9	0.0
Disagree Somewhat	28.6	17.6	23.5	20.0
Strongly Disagree	52.4	20.6	70.6	60.0
	100	100	100	100

(percentage of total responses)

The results from the economic questions are thus mixed, with three questions indicating a possible Ontario Alberta difference (with Alberta being more purely "free enterprise" - influenced by American liberal conservatism) while two questions point to a federal province split. Since there is a clear perception that both lower tariffs and a weakened Foreign Investment Review Agency would benefit the West (or at least, in the case of tariffs, do it no harm), there is an alternate hypothesis that explains the results for two of the three questions that manifest an Ontario-Alberta split. It rests on the simple assumption that differences between elected members occur because they defend perceived regional self interest, not because of a different socio-political milieu in the two regions. This geographic cleavage could be understood in terms of core-periphery economic

relations, instead of by Horowitz's historical fragment theory.[17] One must thus turn to a more refined analysis in an attempt to eliminate the possible effects of regional self interests on members' policy stands.

Hypothesis 2: On matters that affect United States - Canada relations, Western P.C.s will be more sympathetic to the interests of the Americans than their Ontario counterparts.

This hypothesis follows the first one in attempting to prove a linkage between WEstern Canadian conservatism and the American variant, while at the same time filtering out the self interests of the two regions. Unfortunately, of the three questions in the survey that touch on Canadian - American relations, two of them, the FIRA and tariff questions, have just this regional slant. The third question, however, appears at first glance to be very suitable for this analysis as it deals with a non-economic, almost purely ideological, matter - the testing of cruise missiles in Alberta. Table VII below shows clearly that there is virtual unanimity among Progressive Conservative elected members in favor of testing the missiles.

TABLE VII

Question: - Cruise missles should be tested in Canada.

	ABML	ONML	ONMP	ABMP
Strongly Agree	60.0	61.8	41.2	75.0
Agree Somewhat	20.0	35.3	35.3	25.0
Neutral	8.0	2.9	11.8	0.0
Disagree Somewhat	4.0	0.0	5.9	0.0
Strongly Disagree	8.0	0.0	5.9	0.0
	100	100	100	100

(percentage of total responses)

No regional cleavage occurs here, but there exist two possible reasons for this: either there are not two different threads of conservatism being tested, or the two threads agree on this particular issue. The second reason redeems the "two thread" thesis for the moment, and thus a somewhat more sensitive indicator of possible lines of disagreement that would support the theory of two different strains of conservatism in Western and Central Canada must be found.

The other two issues that concerned U.S. - Canadian relations, FIRA and tariffs, were discussed fully in the previous hypothesis, and, as was noted then, they cannot be used as reliable indicators of underlying philosophic differences because of their heavy regional self interest. The hypothesis that will be examined next will provide even more evidence that regional self interest is a paramount consideration.

... Hypothesis 3: On energy related issues the Alberta members, both federal and provincial, will defend free marketing of energy.

Given the great Ottawa-Alberta confrontations of the past decade, it would be extremely surprising if one did not detect a strong pro-Alberta stand from Alberta members. The two questions dealing with energy, the viability of Petro-Canada and the desirability of moving to the world price for domestically consumed Canadian oil, do in fact show this bias. The results contained in Tables VIII and IX on the following page do contain some surprises, however. First, Ontario M.P.s appear very sensitive to the position of their Alberta counterparts. Second, only Ontario M.P.P.s exhibit any marked sentiment against moving to world price for oil and in favor of maintaining Petro-Canada. This further reinforces the "regional self interest" thesis and indicates that, at least at the federal level, party membership can act as a strong integrative mechanism, perhaps even

overriding the views of constituents. Recalling the two questions posed earlier, this seems to indicate that party membership at a national level, which requires contact with people from across the country, can act as an integrative force on members' policy stands. This issue will be discussed in more detail later.

TABLE VIII

Question: - World price for oil.

	ABML	ONML	ONMP	ABMP
Strongly Agree	69.2	18.2	29.4	80.0
Agree Somewhat	23.1	24.2	35.3	20.0
Neutral	3.8	9.1	23.5	0.0
Disagree Somewhat	3.8	36.4	5.9	0.0
Strongly Disagree	0.0	12.1	5.9	0.0
	100	100	100	100

(percentage of total responses)

TABLE IX

Question: - Maintain Petrocan.

	ABML	ONML	ONMP	ABMP
Strongly Agree	0.0	2.9	0.0	0.0
Agree Somewhat	3.8	11.8	5.9	0.0
Neutral	3.8	11.8	0.0	0.0
Disagree Somewhat	30.8	35.3	52.9	0.0
Strongly Disagree	61.5	38.2	41.2	100.0
	100	100	100	100

(percentage of total responses)

Hypothesis 4: If the only significant differences of opinion between Ontario and Alberta members can be found on matters of regional self interest, then one must return to the cleavage hypothesis, refining it further in an attempt to specify what issues one would expect to fine disagreement. If, by Horowitz's definition, the "British tory" conservative possesses an organic view of the state, while the "American liberal" conservative rests on the tradition of rugged individualism, then perhaps this difference is best sought, not in economic, but in social, issues. Two questions can be used to touch on this issue, one dealing with unemployment insurance, the other with medicare. Both questions were worded in such a fashion that the "American liberal" conservative, hewing to the notion of individual responsibility, would be expected to agree more strongly with them than a "tory" conservative. The results are summarized in Tables X and XI.

TABLE X

Question: - Does UIC discourage job seeking?

	ABML	ONML	ONMP	ABMP
Strongly Agree	12.0	26.5	17.6	20.0
Agree Somewhat	68.0	41.2	58.8	40.0
Neutral	8.0	14.7	0.0	40.0
Disagree Somewhat	8.0	11.8	11.8	0.0
Strongly Disagree	4.0	5.9	11.8	0.0
	100	100	100	100

(percentage of total responses)

TABLE XI

Question: - Should Medicare become a more user-pay oriented system?

	ABML	ONML	ONMP	ABMP
Strongly Agree	46.2	26.5	35.3	0.0
Agree Somewhat	38.5	58.8	35.3	80.0
Neutral	7.7	0.0	11.8	20.0
Disagree Somewhat	7.7	14.7	11.8	0.0
Strongly Disagree	0.0	0.0	5.9	0.0
	100	100	100	100

(percentage of total responses)

No statistically significant differences exist in the response patterns of the four groups, either along regional or federal-provincial lines. All members show strong tendencies towards the "American liberal" notions of individual responsibility, thus eroding seriousy the credibility of the original Horowitz hypothesis. Perhpas such results are merely the product of wholesale adoption of "faddish" American ideas, but even so, these results not only undermine the notion that two strains of conservatism exist in Canada, they undermine the very heart of Horowitz's original thesis that Canadian conservatism is a product of British more than American influences.

Thus of the two questions posed in this study, a fairly clear answer to one is emerging. The elected members of one political party do not seem to hold policy stands that are a direct or indirect product of the different political cultures that have evolved in different regions of Canada. Instead, the differences that do exist cut either along lines of regional self-interest or along structural (federal-provincial) lines - a not unexpected discovery.

Hypothesis 6: This result would also seem to undermine the widely held belief that Alberta Progressive Conservatives are somehow more "right-

wing," "redneck" or "free enterprise" than P.C.s from Central Canada. To test further this particular view it is useful to examine some final questions of popular currency that are generally considered bellwethers of right wing opinion, at least in its most recent manifestations in the United States. The questions for this purpose deal with: capital punishment, abortion, equal pay for equal work and compulsory metrication (a more purely Canadian issue). The tables below and on the following page summarize the results for these questions.

TABLE XII

Question: - In favor of capital punishment?

	ABML	ONML	ONMP	ABMP
Strongly Agree	46.2	38.2	47.1	40.0
Agree Somewhat	30.8	32.4	23.5	60.0
Neutral	7.7	5.9	0.0	0.0
Disagree Somewhat	7.7	14.7	5.9	0.0
Strongly Disagree	7.7	8,8	23.5	0.0
	100	100	100	100

(percentage of total responses)

TABLE XIII

Question: - In favor of compulsory metrication?

	ABML	ONML	ONMP	ABMP
Strongly Agree	12.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Agree Somewhat	4.0	17.6	0.0	0.0
Neutral	12.0	11.8	0.0	0.0
Disagree Somewhat	24.0	26.5	5.9	20.0
Strongly Disagree	48.0	44.1	94.1	80.0
	100	100	100	100

(percentage of total responses)

TABLE XIV

Question: - Abortions should not be further restricted.

	ABML	ONML	ONMP	ABMP
Strongly Agree	12.5	26.5	11.8	0.0
Agree Somewhat	29.2	41.2	47.1	40.0
Neutral	29.2	17.6	17.6	20.0
Disagree Somewhat	16.7	5.9	17.6	20.0
Strongly Disagree	12.5	8.8	5.9	20.0
	100	100	100	100

(percentage of total responses)

TABLE XV

Question: - Legislated equal pay for equal work.

	ABML	ONML	ONMP	ABMP
Strongly Agree	31.8	14.7	23.5	20.0
Agree Somewhat	31.8	41.2	35.3	20.0
Neutral	13.6	5.9	11.8	20.0
Disagree Somewhat	13.6	23.5	23.5	40.0
Strongly Disagree	9.1	14.7	5.9	0.0
	100	100	100	100

(percentage of total responses)

On two of the questions, those concerning capital punishment and abortion, Alberta members came out slightly more strongly in support of the current right wing positions in support of both capital punishment and restricting the availability of abortions. The trends are, however, probably too small to be statistically significant - 77 and 100 percent of Alberta M.L.A.s and M.P.s respectively support bringing back capital punishment for

certain crimes, while the comparable Ontario figures are 71 and 71 percent. On the issue of equal pay for equal work, a slight tendency in the opposite direction is manifest. One caveat on this question should be included, however. There were a few Alberta respondents, Alberta M.L.A.s in particular, who questioned the validity of the statistic used in the question, which stated that women in the Canadian workforce earn 69 percent of men. The comments associated with these responses (which were excluded from the percentage calculations) were antagonistic enough to lead to the conclusion that support for legislation enshrining equal pay for equal work is slightly overstated.

The final question in the set dealt with compulsory metrication. In this case two points are abundantly clear: one, all respondents are strongly opposed to compulsory metrication; two, this opposition is strongest among federal members. A possible explanation for this would be a variant of the structural factors mentioned previously - the old line that "familiarity breeds contempt." Certainly most opposition to compulsory metrication has been focused at the federal level, and along with the issues of minimum wage legislation it provides some evidence of a split along federal-provincial lines. This split can be accounted for, not in terms of the self interest of elected members at different levels, but in terms of the different pressures these members fact to take strong and distinctive policy stands. For a Progressive Conservative at the federal level, metrication is a bread and butter issue on which she/he should have a strong policy stand. For a Progressive Conservative at the provincial level, minimum wage legislation is almost a sacred cow, which injects a far lesser degree of ideological purity into his/her policy stand.

Summarizing the discussion to this point, the data presented indicates

that there are no strong or significant underlying ideological differences between the elected members in the four groups and two regions surveyed. Of course there are differences, but the pattern that these demonstrate tends to exclude the possibility that these differences are rooted in two fundamentally different strands of conservatism in Canada. Instead, any observed differences can be better explained by regional self interest and structural pressures. This suggests that, if an underlying differences exists in the political cultures of Alberta and Ontario, this difference is not reflected directly in the policy stands of elected members. It can only be expressed indirectly in terms of specific issues on which a member is responding to the pressure of constituents' or popular views, perhaps even against his/her ideological leanings.

It is difficult to determine how this affects Horowitz's original thesis, which makes a distinction between Canadian and American conservatism. Certainly evidence for and against his thesis can be pulled out of this study and, in the end, his model may be an historically accurate and aesthetically pleasing one that has little impact on the actual outputs of the political system as determined by the views of elected members. A much more extensive study would be needed to establish this point definitively, and for the time being one will have to be content with the conclusions indicated by this data.

One other general area of interest remains to be discussed: the question of whether or not a fundamental unity of views exists between elected members of the same party that overrides any regional or other cleavages that may exist. A complete answer to this question would require a comparative study between members of different parties, but the survey data in this paper supplies some evidence that party membership

can act as a unifying force in some restricted ways.

It has already been pointed out that on certain issues such as energy pricing there appears to be a greater degree of unity between federal members than provincial ones. Overall, the total difference in the mean scores between Alberta and Ontario M.P.s is lower (7.2) than for their provincial counterparts (8.5) and this suggests that as a general point that familiarity and contact with other members makes one responsive to different points of view. This is especially true on the issues of energy pricing, FIRA and wage and price controls.

When one examines the standard deviations in Table I, there does not appear to be a clear pattern of low or high scores on specific sets of issues that would indicate systematically tightly or loosely clustered responses. Nevertheless, the results are generally grouped closely, as about half of the questions have more than 70 percent of the responses grouped into one pole (either strongly/somewhat agree or strongly/somewhat disagree). The overall distribution of responses for all questions is summarized in Table XVI on the following page. In only four of the 17 questions did the minority view comprise more than 30 percent of the responses (tariffs, equal pay for equal work, balanced budgets and additional agricultural credit) and these four do not form a discernable grouping around one issue.

It is up to the reader to decide whether or not this constitutes "unity" of views, but the sum total of the evidence suggests that either there are few differences within or between caucuses or that when differences exist they do not breakdown along a consistent line and are easily explained by prominent features of the political scene (such as the energy debate or the impact of tariffs).

TABLE XVI

Summary of Percentage Results - All Responses

	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE SOMEWHAT	NEUTRAL	DISAGREE SOMEWHAT	STRONGLY DISAGREE
ENERGY	40.7	25.9	9.9	17.3	6.2
FIRA	1.2	11.2	2.5	37.5	47.5
CAPPUN	42.7	31.7	4.9	9.8	11.0
CRUISE	57.5	30.0	6.3	2.5	3.7
PETROCAN	1.2	7.4	6.2	35.8	49.4
MINWAGE	9.8	20.7	18.3	24.4	26.8
MEDICARE	32.9	48.8	6.1	11.0	1.2
TARIFFS	12.2	39.0	7.3	29.3	12.2
WOMEN	21.8	35.9	10.3	21.8	10.3
FARMCRED	6.3	36.7	11.4	25.3	20.3
CANAGREX	1.2	17.3	13.6	22.2	45.7
UIC	19.8	53.1	11.1	9.9	6.2
CORPTAX	3.8	25.3	13.9	31.6	25.3
METRIC	3.7	8.6	8.6	21.0	58.0
ABORTION	17.5	38.7	21.2	12.5	10.0
WAGECONT	7.8	19.5	7.8	22.1	42.9
BUDGET	7.7	25.6	11.5	28.2	26.9

One other example of potential sources of disunity within the four subgroups, rather than between them, is useful here. Two questions dealing with agricultural issues were asked in the survey and members were in addition asked to specify whether they came from urban or rural ridings (or a mixture of both in Ontario). If a party acts as a unifying force because of contact with members with different perspectives, one would expect no significant difference in the patterns of responses, either by region or by riding location within regions. The data from the two questions, which dealt with the establishment of a grain export agency and the provision of additional credit to farmers, is summarized in Tables XVII and XVIII on the next page, and it does suggest that a degree of unity on agricultural issues does exist.

Although the sample sizes become extremely small when operations which subdivide the data further are performed, some general, if tentative, observations can be made. First, opposition to Canagrex is very strong, with only Ontario M.P.P.s and urban Ontario M.P.s showing any degree of support for the agency. This would be the expected result if one hypothesized that federal members would be more likely to oppose Canagrex because of their exposure to members from Western agricultural communities and that Ontario urban or rural provincial members would be least sensitive to opposition to the plan because their agricultural orientation is not towards the export market. Second, within each of the four subgroups, opposition tends to follow the same pattern between urban and rural members, with urban members lagging slightly behind in their opposition. This result is also intuitively expected. Third, no significant pattern emerges in the responses to the question regarding agricultural credit, with aggregate responses being fairly evenly distributed around neutral scores, with some variations in

TABLE XVII

Question: - Should Canagrex be established?

	ALL			ABML		ONML			ONMP			ABMP	
	Urban	Rural	Both	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Both	Urban	Rural	Both	Urban	Rural
Strongly Agree	0.0	3.4	0.0	0.0	9.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Agree Somewhat	19.5	10.3	20.0	7.1	0.0	26.3	30.0	50.0	33.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Neutral	17.1	10.3	10.0	21.4	0.0	21.1	20.0	25.0	0.0	20.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Disagree Somewhat	24.4	20.7	20.0	35.7	0.0	21.1	40.0	0.0	16.7	40.0	33.3	0.0	0.0
Strongly Disagree	39.0	55.2	50.0	35.7	90.9	31.6	10.0	25.0	50.0	40.0	66.7	100	100

TABLE XVIII

Question: - Should government provide credit to farmers

	ALL			ABML		ONML			ONMP			ABMP	
	Urban	Rural	Both	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Both	Urban	Rural	Both	Urban	Rural
Strongly Agree	2.4	7.1	22.2	0.0	10.0	5.3	10.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	40.0	0.0	0.0
Agree Somewhat	39.0	32.1	44.4	35.7	10.0	42.1	20.0	50.0	50.0	60.0	40.0	0.0	100
Neutral	9.8	17.9	0.0	14.3	20.0	5.3	30.0	0.0	16.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Disagree Somewhat	31.7	17.9	22.2	42.9	20.0	26.3	20.0	50.0	16.7	20.0	20.0	50.0	0.0
Strongly Disagree	17.1	25.0	11.1	7.1	40.0	21.1	20.0	0.0	16.7	20.0	0.0	50.0	0.0

different subclassifications. If one regards the agricultural credit question as having an ambiguous response, one is left with the observation that party membership can act to some degree as a unifying force on the Canagrex issue in two ways. First, M.P.s from both provinces are more united than their provincial counterparts (as on the energy issue) and second, rural members do manage to gain the support of their urban counterparts on certain agricultural issues where they show clear leadership and strong views.

Without further research and a better data sample one cannot make any more concrete observations concerning the question of how strong a unifying force party membership and activity is. All that can be said is that, depending on the issue, exposure to a broader perspective, be it national versus purely provincial, or provincial versus purely urban, tends to create more unity than is found between groups with more parochial viewpoints and little contact.

CONCLUSION

At the outset of this study two questions were posed, both of which presupposed that historical and social cleavages exist in the Canadian political fabric. By using Horowitz's analysis of the evolution of conservatism in Canada, it was possible to construct a model that postulated that certain detectable patterns of responses would exist among elected members of the Progressive Conservative party in Alberta and Ontario, based on the existence of two different strains of conservatism in these two regions. This hypothesis was not supported by the data, however, and two other specific and compatible explanations for the pattern of responses emerged: perceived regional economic self interests and structural pressures. This in turn helped to answer the other primary question, because if the

views of elected members are not a reflection of the socio-political milieu that they emerge from, then party membership need not exert a strong unifying force on members' policy stands. There are, in many cases, a greater diversity of views within a specific caucus than between caucuses, although virtually all questions asked did provoke a large majority and small minority response. Perhaps the only authoritative test of unity would be a comparison of members' policy stands from different parties and the same region with different regions and the same party.

As a tentative stab at a complex problem, this study raises many questions for further research. In addition to the one proposed above, there exists the issue of whether or not members' policy stands correlate with other factors such as length of time in office, level of education, status as a cabinet minister, previous occupation and so on. Virtually a complete sample would be needed to obtain valid responses on such questions, however. There is also room for a more sensitive questionnaire designed to test Horowitz's thesis by filtering out and controlling for other possible explanations of differences in the pattern of responses. A truly ambitious project would test the views of a sample of members from Britain and the United States as well. Finally, a detailed exploration of the linkage between the socio-political milieu that a member represents and his/her policy stands would be required before one goes on a wild goose chase for theories of representation and predictions of members' responses to a set of opinion questions.

In the end, one is left with more questions than answers on this topic. Some popular notions about monolithic caucuses or great differences of views between caucuses have been debunked and this is virtually all one can expect

from a study of this sort. In particular, Alberta P.C. members are not noticably more "redneck" and only slightly more "right wing" than their Ontario counterparts and, with the exception of certain issues as energy pricing, display at least as great a diversity of views among themselves as could be expected in a healthy caucus. Unfortunately, this result does not jive with popular notions as propagated by the media, a result that perhaps helps to explain the deep seated resentment and suspicion of the media that noe finds among Alberta Progressive Conservatives. In politics, the perception of what exists is often more important than what actually exists, and certainly this study should raise in the minds of both politicians and private citizens serious questions about the effectiveness of political communication in this country. Without a clear understanding of the workings of the Canadian party system and its impact on their elected members, most electors would perhaps be better off tossing a coin than voting.

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY
ALBERTA

April 19, 1983

To: Alberta Progressive Conservative M.L.A.s
Ontario Progressive Conservative M.P.P.s
Alberta and Ontario Progressive Conservative M.P.s

From: Keith Krause
Alberta Legislative Intern
Room 112, Legislature Building
Edmonton, Alberta

Re: Party and Policy in Alberta and Ontario: A Questionnaire

I am a Legislative Intern with the Alberta Legislative Assembly. To complete the research aspect of our program, which is similar to programs in the Ontario and national parliaments, I am undertaking a survey of Progressive Conservative Members from the three parliaments. My research is intended to determine the influence of regional and provincial interests on the policies and views of members of the same party in different parliaments.

In order to maintain confidentiality and anonymity, I have not included your name on this letter or on the attached questionnaire. All information gathered through this survey will be handled responsibly and with discretion.

The survey should only take a few minutes and your assistance in this research is vital and greatly appreciated. I gladly welcome any additional comments on either the questions themselves or the broader issue of the influence of Canada's regional and provincial makeup on the policies of a strong national party.

Thank you for your time, effort and assistance.

Sincerely yours,

Keith Krause
Alberta Legislative Intern

Please return completed questionnaire to: Keith Krause
Legislative Intern
Room 112, Legislature Building
Edmonton, Alberta
T5K 2B6

April 19, 1983

MEMBERS' QUESTIONNAIRE

1. How many years have you been a member of your parliament? _____

2. Are you, or have you been, a cabinet minister? Yes No

3. Are you a member from a rural or urban constituency? Urban Rural

4. Check from the following list the item that best describes your occupation.

_____ Lawyer
_____ Full time elected Member
_____ Academic
_____ Farmer
_____ Business Proprietor
_____ Civil Servant
_____ Teacher
_____ Business Management
_____ Journalist
_____ Other (please list) _____

5. Check from the following list the item that best describes your highest level of educational attainment.

_____ Primary
_____ Secondary
_____ Post-secondary, non-university
_____ First degree, university
_____ Two or more university degrees

The following questions are intended to determine your personal opinion on a select number of national issues. Please circle the response that best describes your personal belief and add any additional comments you may have on the line below each question.

6. The price for Canadian oil is now $29.75 a barrel, approximately 85 percent of the world price. Should the federal and provincial governments renegotiate their Energy Agreements and move to the world price for oil?

Strongly agree Agree somewhat Neutral Disagree somewhat Strongly disagree

_____

7. The federal Foreign Investment Review Agency is responsible for monitoring and approving all foreign investment in, or takeovers of, Canadian firms. It should be strengthened to prevent the takeover of Canadian industry and manufacturing.

Strongly agree Agree somewhat Neutral Disagree somewhat Strongly disagree

_____

8. Capital punishment, which was abolished by a free vote in Parliament, should be brought back for a wide range of capital crimes, not just for the murder of police officers.

Strongly agree Agree somewhat Neutral Disagree somewhat Strongly Disagree

---

9. The federal government has recently signed an agreement with the United States that will permit the testing of unarmed cruise missiles on Canadian soil. Should these missiles be tested in Canada?

Strongly agree Agree somewhat Neutral Disagree somewhat Strongly Disagree

---

10. In the 1970s the federal government created Petro-Canada, the national oil company. Subsequent expansions and takeovers have made it a large and financially successful company with coast to coast operations from exploration to sales. The role of Petro-Canada in the Canadian oil industry should be maintained or even expanded.

Strongly agree Agree somewhat Neutral Disagree somewhat Strongly disagree

---

11. It has been argued that minimum wage laws have a negative impact on job creation and industrial productivity. Canadian provinces should therefore eliminate or reduce minimum wage requirements to stimulate economic growth.

Strongly agree Agree somewhat Neutral Disagree somewhat Strongly disagree

---

12. Many provincial governments are moving to introduce, or have introduced, higher medicare premiums and hospital user fees in an effort to shift the burden for health care costs towards the users of the system. The federal government has expressed concern over this development, saying it may limit the accessibility of the system. Should all provinces move towards a more user-pay oriented health care system?

Strongly agree Agree somewhat Neutral Disagree somewhat Strongly disagree

---

13. Should the federal government begin to remove tariff barriers for imports of manufactured goods in an effort to stimulate free trade and provide benefits to Canadian consumers, despite the negative effect this may have on some Canadian industries?

Strongly agree Agree somewhat Neutral Disagree somewhat Strongly disagree

---

13. Women in the Canadian workforce earn about 69 percent of the salary of men in equivalent positions, and womens' groups across the country are calling for legislative changes to make equal pay for equal work mandatory. Should provincial and federal governments take legislative action on this matter?

Strongly agree Agree somewhat Neutral Disagree somewhat Strongly disagree

---

14. An Ontario farmer recently went on a hunger strike to protest what he said was a lack of government protection for agricultural producers with heavy debt loads. Should provincial and federal governments through agencies similar to the Farm Credit Corporation interfere in the free market to provide credit support to farmers?

Strongly agree Agree somewhat Neutral Disagree somewhat Strongly disagree

---

15. The federal government has proposed the establishment of a Canadian Grain Export Agency (Canagrex) to assist the development of export markets for Canadian agricultural production. Should this agency be created?

Strongly agree Agree somewhat Neutral Disagree somewhat Strongly disagree

---

16. The current Unemployment Insurance Program is too good, and it discourages unemployed people from seeking work.

Strongly agree Agree somewhat Neutral Disagree somewhat Strongly disagree

---

17. United States president Ronald Reagan has suggested that the corporate income tax be abolished. This proposal should be applied in Canada.

Strongly agree Agree somewhat Neutral Disagree somewhat Strongly disagree

---

18. Should the federal government continue its present policy of compulsory metrification?

Strongly agree Agree somewhat Neutral Disagree somewhat Strongly disagree

---

19. The existing laws governing abortion in Canada are adequate and should not be made more restrictive.

Strongly agree Agree somewhat Neutral Disagree somewhat Strongly disagree

---

20. Should the federal and provincial governments implement effective wage and price controls to curb inflation and speed the economic recovery.

Strongly agree Agree somewhat Neutral Disagree somewhat Strongly disagree

---

21. This year the federal government and all provinces have budgets that are in deficit. Should a constitutional amendment be passed requiring all governments to balance their budgets along one of the models proposed in the United States recently.

Strongly agree Agree somewhat Neutral Disagree somewhat Strongly disagree

---

Thank you for your cooperation in answering the above questions. If you have any further comments, please write them on the lines below.

APPENDIX B - METHODOLOGY

The questionnaire was mailed to 202 elected Progressive Conservative members in four different subgroups. Two mailings were done about one month apart and the pattern of responses was as follows:

	SAMPLE SIZE	RETURNS	RETURN RATE
ALBERTA M.L.A.s	75	26	35%
ONTARIO M.P.P.s	70	34	49%
ONTARIO M.P.s	37	17	46%
ALBERTA M.P.s	20	5	25%
TOTALS	202	82	41%

The two samples from Ontario are both complete enough to be statistically useful, the Alberta M.L.A.s are close to adequate and the Alberta M.P.s are badly undersampled. This skews aggregate figures so whenever possible their use was avoided. In addition, the data for Alberta M.P.s is virtually useless because of their low response rate, except in cases where opinion is almost unanimous and extreme care should be taken in drawing any conclusions from it.

Why Alberta members had a low response rate is an interesting question, especially since the survey was done by an Albertan and, in the case of the M.L.A.s, was done from their "building". Perhaps this was too close to home to be revealing any secrets, or perhaps there exists a deep seated suspicion of the possibility of public revelation, however harmless the subject.

The sample size dictated that virtually no breakdowns other than the four subgroups could be made. This was violated only in the case of the urban-rural split and those results must be approached with caution. This result was unfortunate, because a more complete sample would have permitted some interesting crosstabulation work. All statistical manipulation was

done with a simple SPSS computer program and the tables in this paper are based on the frequency tables that were generated. Missing data (no response) has been excluded from all percentage, mean and standard deviation calculations.

The big question of the study is whether or not the samples obtained are representative of the population studied. This is not possible to determine with certainty, but some tentative observations can be made. First, the distribution of cabinet ministers (present and past) is roughly what the actual count is for all four groups, although cabinet ministers are slightly underrepresented. Second, the average time in office for the sample of Alberta M.L.A.s is 6.1 years, compared to the actual average of 6.4 years, meaning that this sample is slightly skewed towards younger, less experienced, members. This calculation was not performed on all groups, but from these two points it is reasonable to assume that, with the exception of the sample of Alberta M.P.s, the samples within subgroups are representative enough to validate the conclusions drawn.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Edmund Burke from Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents, quoted in William Christian and Colin Campbell, Political Parties and Ideologies in Canada: Liberals, Conservatives, Socialists, Nationalists (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1974), page ii.

[2] Gad Horowitz, "Conservatism, Liberalism and Socialism in Canada: An Interpretation," reprinted in abridged form in Hugh Thorburn, ed., Party Politics in Canada, 4th ed. (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada Ltd., 1979), pages 52-72.

[3] Chart reprinted from John McMenemy, John Redekop and Conrad Winn, "Party Structure and Decision Making," chapter 10 in Conrad Winn and John McMenemy, eds., Political Parties in Canada (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd., 1976), pages 170-171.

[4] George Hogan makes this case in The Conservative in Canada (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1963), page 22.

[5] For a good discussion of the history of the party, see Christian and Campbell, chapter 4, pages 76-115.

[6] Horowitz, pages 55-60.

[7] Hogan, page 2.

[8] Horowitz, page 60.

[9] Horowitz, page 60.

[10] Horowitz, page 55.

[11] Christian and Campbell, page 89.

[12] Christian and Campbell, page 89.

[13] Fred Engelmann and Mildred Schwartz, Political Parties and the Canadian Social Structure (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada Ltd., 1979), pages 26-27.

[14] George Perlin, "The Progressive Conservative Party," in Thorburn, page 167.

[15] Engelmann and Schwartz set out to prove this case in Political Parties and the Canadian Social Structure, pages 39-43.

[16] For a discussion of structural factors, including the parliamentary system, electoral system and federal system, see Engelmann and Schwartz, Political Parties and the Canadian Social Structure, pages 115-132.

[17] A interesting case supporting the regional economic self interest thesis is made tangentially by Douglas McCready and Conrad Winn, "Geographic Cleavage: Core vs. Periphery," in Winn and McMenemy, pages 71-88.

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